

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is; but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is not, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are misled, as I was a year ago, in supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community. It seems to me now to be no more the organ of that body than though the O. C. had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, and find it, among all the Socialistic organs, without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The hard times crowd us all. Now and then an able-bodied man sends us a dollar and apologizes for not sending two by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks. On the other hand, our annual receipts do not thus far half pay for the bare cost of paper and printing, to say nothing of editorial labor. At the same time many of our subscribers are wealthy and sometimes send us more than the price of the paper. These circumstances have suggested the following plan for equalizing burdens all round: Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription send it to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would have the SOCIALIST sent, and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume. That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack.

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THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST will in the future, as in the past, publish all well-written accounts of new Communistic and Coöperative Societies which may be offered in good faith; but it should be clearly understood that its conductors disclaim all responsibility for the character or success of such Societies. They consider that they perform their duty if they exclude schemes which are manifestly hair-brained or fraudulent and continue to set forth, as opportunity offers, the principles which seem to them to lie at the foundation of successful Socialism.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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SOCIALISTIC NOTES.

Philadelphia workingmen prefer Coöperative loan associations to savings-banks as places of deposit, and have already put millions of dollars into them.

There is a strike among the coal miners of England of serious proportions, threatening great loss not only to the laborers and capitalists immediately concerned, but to all the iron interests of England.

Prof. Stuart of Cambridge presided at the annual Congress of the English Coöperators, and delivered the principal address, in which he pointed out that the great danger now threatening the Coöperative cause in England proceeds from pecuniary profit. This has attracted to the movement many who are ignorant of its higher aspirations, and they would bring all down to the dead level of trade.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says the measures which the Russian government has taken for coping with the Nihilist sedition are almost certain to have an effect exactly contrary to that which is intended; and it affirms that the Czar cannot rely on his army, nor on his police, nor perhaps on the very men who are to be intrusted with the hopeless task of quenching a rebellion which is smoldering everywhere, and which flames up in one place as soon as it has been put down in another.

The editor of *The Herald of Health*, in discussing an important stirpicultural subject, thus lays down the law: "Two persons with a tendency to the same disease, either inherited or acquired, should not intermarry, even if both are in apparent good health at the time. If they do they but entail a curse on their offspring, who will be pretty sure to inherit their diseased tendencies. If two persons with a disposition to consumption, scrofula or dyspepsia intermarry knowingly they commit a sin against their progeny which cannot be blotted out. If two persons both descended from parents with insanity in their blood marry, they do a wrong which is unpardonable."

Progress contains the most favorable comment on the new Constitution of California we have seen:

"The secret of the success of the new Constitution of California means a halt to the arrogance of incorporated wealth, the aggressions of individuals upon the public domain, and the attempt of capital to control the courts and Congress. It is folly to invoke a just conservatism as indorsing such evils. I do not believe the new Constitution is half as bad as its adversaries declare it to be; and if it should prove to be wrong, it can be amended. Meanwhile, the excesses it was honestly intended to correct will themselves be modified. It is ordained that this country must adjust many problems of modern civilization, and to that end we must temporarily bear with all the extremes of sudden wealth and all the extremes of sincere radicalism. Every trial is a new step in the ultimate solution."

In a recent lecture at Cincinnati Henry Ward Beecher took occasion to explain a previous utterance that has given great offense to Socialists. He said: "I understand there is a banquet going on at this time in this city where bread and water are the victuals. I am to be invited. Assertions are made that I have said bread and water were good enough for the workingmen. I have repeatedly contradicted it, but they don't want to understand it. I never did say it. On the contrary, I did say that, on account of contraction, every class of the community must suffer; rich men must suffer; middle men must suffer; and the workingmen must suffer; and it was not becoming to the manliness of the laborer to say that he alone should suffer, but that it was necessary for them to tide over the time, and, if a man had to come down to bread and water it was better than to shirk his lot."

George Mac Donald, perhaps more fully than any modern novelist, puts into his productions the Christian idea of mutual service and brotherhood. Speaking in his "Wilfrid Cumbermeade" of the man to whom property might be intrusted, he says: "He must understand that property involves service to every human soul that lives or labors upon it—the service of the elder brother to his less-burdened yet more enduring and more helpless brothers and sisters; that for the lives of all such he has in his degree to render account. For surely God never meant to uplift any man at the expense of his fellows; but to uplift him that he might be strong to minister, as a wise friend and ruler, to their highest and best needs—first of all by giving them the justice which will be recognized as such by him before whom a man is his brother's keeper, and becomes a Cain in denying it."

Thomas Hughes, one of the most eminent of English Coöperators, has been requested to prepare a Manual of Co-

operation. He is willing to undertake it with the assistance of others, and offers for consideration the following outline:

The Manual of Coöperation.

Introductory: Historical sketch of Coöperation—

Coöperative Congress Union.

Part I. The moral basis of Coöperation and its relations to—

(a) Religious faith.

(b) Other philanthropic movements.

(c) Socialism, Communism, and other politico-social movements.

Part II. The economical basis of Coöperation and its relations to—

(a) Competition.

(b) Current economic theories.

(c) The State.

Part III. The practice of Coöperation—

(a) In distribution.

(b) In production.

(c) In social life.

(d) As respects the law.

Part IV. The helps and hindrances to Coöperation—

Dangers to be guarded against.

That respectable sheet, the *Boston Transcript*, which aims to steer clear of all radicalism, is constrained to say:

"Are we quite sure that we understand the men who today claim that they have an idea, the men who call themselves 'Socialists?' Are we quite sure that we know what a Socialist is? 'Deluded beings' we call them, when we do not use harsher words. Are we quite sure that all the delusion is on their side, and all the wisdom on ours? Have we not perhaps been too ready to take the assertions of others as to their intentions and objects, and too hasty in our conclusions based upon these? That the whole theory of the Socialists is correct is more than improbable—it is impossible; for no human theory was ever yet perfect. But when thinking men—who are known to be honest and straightforward in their dealings with their fellows—have sounded the depths and claim to have made fast to even one great truth which society has ignored, it is not safe to scoff without examination. Our social fabric seems strong and goodly when viewed from the inside. But its walls may have cracks and flaws that need repair. Is it not wise to look them over now and then, seek out the defects, and repair them? And shall we reject the stone that just fits the gap, because offered by one whom society derides and condemns as a Socialist? If we cannot be brave enough to seek out the remedy for ourselves, let us at least not be such cowards as to reject it because it is offered by those whom it is fashionable to despise. Let us not tremble at a name. Let us not be afraid of a man because he has an idea, at least until we know of our own knowledge what that idea is. And that we may know, let us demand that press and pulpit shall tell us, and tell us truly. Had the American people accepted the great fundamental truth which the Abolitionists taught, and sought to right the great wrong, there never would have been any war. Had the French Government been wise in time, and accepted some of the remedies which those who afterwards became Communists offered, and applied them to the cure of evils that all saw and recognized, there would never have been any Commune. Let us learn a lesson from the past."

WHAT IS, AND WHAT MIGHT BE.

XIV.

GOVERNMENTS, (Continued.)

Notwithstanding the drawbacks I mentioned last week and some others to which I did not allude, the advantages of a representative government are so much greater, and its evils so much less, than those of any monarchical form, as to render it, in my opinion, greatly superior. The freedom it confers alone outweighs all objections. Its liberality contributes directly to its strength. Contrast, for example, the course of the United States Government with that of the European monarchies, especially Russia and Germany, in regard to the dangers apprehended from the spread of Socialistic ideas and doctrines. The Czar and Emperor have adopted severe repressive measures. In their minds a movement among the people advocating a constitutional government was identical with rebellion threatening anarchy and the annihilation of all law and order. Taking this view, they have set their secret police to hunt down the Socialists. The result is that everywhere in their territory Socialism has become the leading political question. In Russia there is now an actual reign of terror. The Czar has delegated absolute power to six of his best generals, with instructions to keep order and preserve his authority at any cost. These generals have power to arrest and punish any person whom they may suspect of dangerous intentions. No civil trial is required. They may be imprisoned or banished. There are frequent assassinations by the Nihilists, and thousands of citizens are arrested by the government officials and put out of sight, either in prisons, in the Siberian mines, or elsewhere.

In the United States a violent faction calling them-

selves Socialists or Communists has within a few years past made threatening demonstrations. The doctrines of Karl Marx have been widely circulated in cheap pamphlet form, and there has been everywhere the greatest freedom to propagate these ideas. Reports have been rife that secret organizations were arming and drilling for the purpose of heading a general uprising. The great Railroad Riots of the summer of 1877 gave some color to these reports. At the elections the Socialists showed a rapidly increasing strength. Occasionally they were successful in installing their local candidates. These indications caused anxiety to capitalists and particularly, as it seems, to certain rich clergymen. But our government has never recognized the agitators in any way. It has allowed them to publish and circulate the most inflammatory matter without even a protest, and the good results of this liberality are now apparent. The revolutionary fire of the agitators has burned itself out, for the time at least, and we no longer hear anything of it. The violent talk became a bore which disgusted sensible people. But if the extremists had been treated here as they have been in Russia and Germany, who can say what our condition might now have been? A bloody war of labor against capital might easily have been precipitated at the time of the Railroad Riots by any over-severity in the government.

It is impossible to discuss changes of government without running against the question as to what constitutes its true sanction. The old doctrine of the "divine right of kings" teaches that sovereigns hold their thrones by the special will and design of the Deity. That is the position taken by the Czar. To believers in this doctrine it makes no difference how the ruler may have obtained his place and authority, whether by inheritance, by some such means as that taken by Hamlet's uncle to secure the throne of Denmark, by some cunning *coup d'état*, or by warlike conquest. Neither does it matter whether the ruler be of good character or bad, nor whether he governs well or ill. Once he has obtained the position of authority, it is the sin of sins to disobey him. The only legitimate course is to submit until a better man inherits or usurps the power.

A contrary theory, held by a large class of people, teaches that the true sanction of a government is the consent of the governed. These take the view that society is a voluntary compact, for the proper organization and protection of which it is necessary to have a government of some sort. The people voluntarily surrender a part of their individual liberty in putting themselves under laws, for the sake of the protection and support they receive in return.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher made some remarks pertinent to this subject in a sermon preached in Plymouth Church on Sunday, April 20, 1879. I will quote a few sentences from the report in the *New York World*. To his expression I heartily subscribe, as a political, not a theological, argument.

"When men," he said, "lived under a monarchical government in which, as now in Russia, the power of the state was in the hands of the czar or emperor, and when the whole people had but this one right, namely, of obedience; had no importance, no voice in their own legislation, no part or participation in the government, but simply to exist and in the condition prescribed for them; why, then it was to be expected that out of this view of the divine right of kings there must needs grow a theology on which the sovereignty of God, imperial and imperious, would be perhaps the most prominent figure, and the right of the king to do what he thought best was the disclosure of the heavenly God. It was declared that he could do, also, whatever he thought best, and this in no malign spirit was accepted and taught, in order that men might come to such an acceptance of the power and glory and terribleness of God, as that by fear as well as by hope they might accustom themselves to the divine government which the world at large established—namely, the right to bring men under the power of the divine nature. This aim, although good enough for the time, came under judgment in successive ages, and now we cannot accept that view, because neither king nor government nor people is to us what they were two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, a thousand years ago. Now everything is changed; the very framework from which that theology was formed has fallen to pieces. We don't believe that any king has the right to make laws for the people. We hold that all power comes from the people, and that all authority goes up first from the people before it comes down afterwards in the form of administration. The assumption that the individual subject was considered good for what he could do as a stick or shingle or brick in the construction of the state, is now

obsolete, but we have given to each individual man his intrinsic value, and hold that the elements that inhere in every individual being are of more importance in his relations to God and eternity than any state in its secular relations can ever be."

Possibly the greatest danger to be apprehended from any form of government is that it will so magnify its functions that its subjects will be over-governed. There is an encroaching tendency in every government, leading to extension of jurisdiction in all directions. That is the trouble with all monarchies, whether absolute or limited; and it is a danger even in our own favored republic. It is very common now-a-days to read in the leading newspapers editorials expressing a hope that Congress may soon adjourn without meddling with financial or commercial matters, leaving trade and commerce to take their course. There are too many laws, rather than too few. I believe the model government of the future will be the one that governs the least possible consistently with the preservation of society, public order, and the general conditions of health and prosperity. The progress of events is in the line of greater individual culture and more self-government among the people. This is a tendency eminently to be desired, for a nation will be great in proportion as its people are individually great. That government which allows and encourages each man, woman and child to develop and use every good faculty, and to freely seek his or her own substantial happiness, will be declared the best.

The great difficulty which confronts us when we ask ourselves, "What might be?"—when we try to devise a more perfect government—is, that no possible constitutions or forms can be made to work without evil results if they are administered by selfish, unscrupulous men. With good men in the high places it is easy to make almost any form of government protect and prosper the people. The question how to secure good men, and exclude bad men, from the chief offices becomes, then, all-important. It is on this point that the possibility of improved governments for the future hinges. About all that the world has accomplished thus far is to devise constitutional restrictions on the rulers which, to a greater or less extent, protect the people from the consequences of the administration falling into the hands of bad men. That is the object of the short terms and rotation in offices of the officers in a republic. If they prove to be very good men they can be reelected indefinitely; while if they prove incapable or unprincipled, they are thrown out by the expiration of their terms before any great harm can be done. In a republic there is also this great advantage, namely, that more persons are concerned in the government, it having distinct and independent departments, as the legislative, executive and judicial, and that therefore there is always a great probability that good, capable, honest men will be present in the administration to check the dishonest or incapable. This feature of a republic also destroys the danger of secret plans and decisions which are the curse of despotisms. In Russia the people know nothing of the intentions of the government until the imperial ukase is published, after which the only thing for them to do is to obey. In these United States every project of the government is published almost as soon as conceived. Nothing is or can be concealed from the people. This is an immense advantage to all concerned. It tends to make the government honest and it gives the people confidence.

But neither this nation nor any other has yet devised a satisfactory plan for selecting good men for its rulers. In monarchies the people rest on the chances of heredity; in republics on the nominations in caucus. The latter form, under the management of party wire-pullers, is about the worst possible, since the nominee is put forward solely for party purposes, and after being nominated by one of the great political parties he and the opposing candidate are the only persons for whom the people can vote effectually. They may both be notoriously unfit, but the people must vote for them or practically not vote at all. This is certainly a miserable arrangement. It puts all the power of choice into the hands of the party leaders who plan the nominations in convention, and their preliminary maneuvers are secret.

The importance of discovering or devising some method of securing the very best and wisest men for the high places in government cannot be overestimated. Too little study has been given to this point. I am not prepared to offer a complete plan, but certainly the present plan of secret party nominations ought to be done away with at any cost. There ought to be some constitutional method of rejecting an improper nomination and demanding another, before the final vote.

The party feeling ought to be discouraged. Every citizen and Congressman should vote according to his honest convictions, without any pressure from the party leaders. If this sentiment could be encouraged it would produce more honest legislation.

In a book entitled "The Soul of Things," by William Denton, there are psychometric descriptions of the planet Mars, its people, geography, etc. On page 240, of Vol. 3, this passage occurs:

"In their social life [on Mars] there is more leisure, more order, more individuality, than among us. They seem to live the idea expressed by the motto, 'Each for all, and all for each,' and to have done this until they know no narrow, selfish ends in life, and have no desire for aggrandizement, honor or preferment, that is not wholly subservient to the public good. Indeed, they seem to have controlled selfishness and all the baser passions, until they are the mere servants of the higher and nobler powers of the soul. I question whether they have what we recognize by the word 'governments,' except it may be such regulations as they deem necessary for the more effective distribution of means for the accomplishment of desired ends. And in this there is not, that I can now discover, any antagonism, and never discord. Their controversies, if they have them, seem only for the discovery of truth, never for the triumph of person or party."

Whether this is a true description of society on Mars or not, it outlines a state of things immensely in advance of the present condition of society on this earth. It expresses very well my idea of "what might be" in respect to government. I believe that as people become truly refined there will be less and less necessity for governments over them; and that, therefore, in the good time promised us, the functions of government will to a very great extent, if not wholly, be superseded by personal self-government, a correct public opinion, and a general desire to do only that which is right.

F. W. S.

(To be Continued.)

THE ROCHDALE PIONEERS.

Vineland, May 4, 1879.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—The Rochdale Pioneers have often been referred to as the successful leaders in Coöperation; yet few really understand the principles on which that society was based. It was after the failure of the English Socialists to form a Community at Tytherly, in Hampshire. Indeed, it was formed before the final break-up of that establishment, it having been for some time foreseen that its failure was inevitable. Those going into the Rochdale scheme saw the cause of the failure, and were determined to exclude the course of action which led to it. They embodied in their laws the equality they had been taught as the first principle of Socialism. The rules of the Society were as follows:

1. Procure the authority and protection of law by enrollment.
2. Let integrity, intelligence and ability be indispensable qualifications in the choice of officers and managers, not wealth and distinction.
3. Let each member have only one vote, and make no distinction as regards the amount of wealth any member may contribute.
4. Let majorities rule in all matters of government.
5. Look well after money matters. Punish fraud by the immediate expulsion of the defrauder.
6. Buy goods in the lowest market, and contrive, if possible, to sell in the highest.
7. Never depart from the principle of buying and selling for ready money.
8. Beware of long reckonings in the Society's accounts.
9. For the sake of security always have the accounted values of the fixed stock at least one-fourth less than its marketable value.
10. Let the members take care that the accounts are properly audited by men of their own choosing.
11. Let committees of management always have the authority of members before taking any important or expensive step.
12. Do not court opposition or publicity, nor fear it when it comes.
13. Choose those only for your leaders whom you can trust, and then give them your confidence.

Rules 3 and 4 embody the cardinal principle of the Rochdale Society. If the failures recorded of the many Societies formed in this country be investigated it will be found that they have been owing to the neglect of this great principle. Where there are diverse interests in a Society there will be contention. The motto should be, *Unity of Interests and Personal Equality*.

J. DONBAVAND.

THE NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX.

CORRECTION OF AN ERROR.

"The North American Phalanx of New Jersey did not die, if we may believe the testimony of the obituary notices that have been published, because it did not pay, nor because it could not replace the mill destroyed by fire (for Horace Greeley offered to loan \$12,000 for this purpose), but because there was not sufficient power of agreement. We judge from the accounts we have read that its financial prospects were really better when the members concluded to dissolve than at any previous period of its history. Profitable branches of industry had been established, for the products of which there was an increasing market; the land was rising in value; and the debts of the Phalanx were no longer a source of embarrassment."

I copy the foregoing from the article, "Paying Communities not always Successful," in the AMERICAN SOCIALIST of April 3d, and am called upon to publish a correction of the error contained in the statements respecting the pecuniary condition of the Phalanx, and which I have underlined.

It is true that the industries and markets of the Phalanx were expanding, and that the prospect of future growth and prosperity was generally encouraging; and it is but truth to say that, with only one exception, the Phalanx was a self-sufficing commonwealth and accomplished positive results of good, social, economical and political, not attainable out of association.

It had abolished lawsuits within the society; it furnished no criminals nor paupers to tax the public; it had no children growing up without literary education, or ignorant of the ways and means of life; and the death-rate, taken for a period of thirteen years, was less than that of the Shakers.

As an experiment in compact, closely-graded Industrial and Social organization, extended to agricultural and domestic labor, as well as to manufactures, education and amusements, it was successful.

As an experiment in new societary relations, including the intimate association of families and the making equal to both sexes alike, all the industrial, social and political franchises, it was successful.

As a means of education and social culture, transcending any known out of association, it was successful; and, against the strongest prejudices, it had won the confidence and respect of its neighbors and a tolerably large public.

It was a complete commonwealth in itself; had all the interests and relations, all the questions of personal and public rights, of domestic and external affairs, to consider and administer, that any commonwealth has; and notwithstanding the dissolution of the corporate existence, an aroma of the old life still lingers about the old place, and pleasant memories of it will be cherished by the members and many others as long as they live.

In dealing with such questions as the relations of capitalist and laborer, including the rightful power attaching to non-resident ownership of stock, the basis of suffrage, the extent to which guaranty of support could be maintained, there was earnest and prolonged discussion; but within the first three years these questions were mostly settled. The basis of wages and dividends was revised yearly, and rates were modified to some extent from time to time; but I believe I am safe in saying that none of the conclusions determined on these questions, nor all of them together, would have been sufficient to break up the association.

Why then did the members deliberately vote a dissolution? I answer: Because of Debt.

The exception stated above is that the association had not the control of its financial destiny; it never had.

The Phalanx started with less than \$7,000 cash capital; there remained unpaid \$9,000 of the original mortgage; a new engine and boiler had been put into the mill; and the mill was filled full of grain, mostly wheat, purchased on a credit of three months. In a few hours one Sunday morning, late in 1855, most of this property was reduced to ashes; leaving us with a debt of \$30,000 to provide for, and with almost no resources except agriculture to meet early maturing obligations; for in the mill was centered our working capital, and the orchards, except the peach, had not yet borne fruit. The mill was partially insured, but who insures the underwriters? The company holding the risk failed; so the loss was total except a damaged engine and boiler.

A strenuous effort was made to raise money for rebuilding the mill. To the Shakers at New Lebanon we made two propositions, one of which was for a loan for a term of years; the other was to sell them about half our land. Both propositions were declined. Brother Evans will remember the event.

If the debt could have been reduced about one-half by the sale of half the domain, we might possibly have

gone on in a crippled condition for an indefinite period. If a loan for rebuilding the mill had been effected, the debt would have been increased to \$42,000. To pay installments of so large a debt and yearly interest of over \$2,500 would have been beyond our ability. Our resources could not be made to justify the undertaking. But we had not even this option, for a large part of the debt was due to the farmers of the neighborhood and required provision for payment at intervals during the next three months.

So, after exhaustive efforts to avoid breaking up and exhaustive discussion of possibilities, the final measure of a dissolution of the Association and division of the property was carried by a vote of the members.

We raised on mortgage bonds, mostly in our own county, a loan of \$20,000, discharged the floating debt, mapped the domain into parcels of various sizes from 150-acre farms to lots of five acres, sold out the entire estate, fixed and movable, at auction, paid all debts and the expenses of sale and settlement, and divided to the stockholders 57 3-10 per cent. of their investments.

It is true, also, that a non-resident stockholding interest used the stress of the occasion to urge the measure of dissolution. In the ordinary course of affairs this interest could have been controlled as it had been; but in view of the insufficient resources to carry the burden of so large a debt, the stoutest yielded to the inevitable, although voting against dissolution to the last.

To many of the members, probably to most of them, the surrender of the organization and the life it housed, was one of the capital trials of life.

CHAS. SEARS.

Silkville, Kansas, May 10, 1879.

THEOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY.

III.

I said in my last article that the birth of the spirit and power of perfect holiness, or Perfectionism, was the great outcome of the revivals which prevailed in this country during the decade prior to 1835; and as Perfectionism finally culminated in Christian Socialism it will be appropriate to speak more fully of its principles and objects.

Perfectionism claims to represent the Pauline gospel of absolute freedom from all sin. Outward inducements have had no power to draw its disciples away from the interior faith-work of destroying unbelief as the root of all sin, to the superficial one of lopping off the branches of evil. While agitators of moral, social and political questions were little more than "hook-and-ladder companies" for pulling down decaying institutions, propped up by customs and traditions, and justly condemned by the spirit of progress; Perfectionism came as an architect—a builder—an educator—to work in the new fields of social science and spiritual philosophy, with the Bible in hand as its text-book, which many reformers were then throwing away. Supported, as they were, by Biblical exegesis, Perfectionists had little difficulty in convincing the candid inquirer that freedom from all sin is the essential prerequisite of entering the school of Christ; that no one can serve two masters at war with each other; that Christ, the author of perfect and everlasting holiness, has nothing in common with the Devil, the author of sin and death; that Christ, in his own experience, conquered the flesh, and so condemned sin in the flesh, (see Rom. 8.) Freedom, therefore, from all sin, entire holiness and purity of heart, were proved beyond all cavil to be the platform upon which stood the Apostolic Church—as impregnable to the assaults of all enemies as the throne of God.

The little Spartan band of Perfectionists had counted the cost, and felt bound to stand by their colors and their own convictions at all hazards. Indeed, no other alternative was left them but to confess publicly what they believed and confessed privately, viz., that they were saved from all sin, now and forever, through the power of an indwelling Christ, the gift of God to all mankind. At the present time one can scarcely conceive of the bigotry and intolerance of the clergy fifty years ago in branding new ideas in religion, that differed from their own, as heresy and damnable delusions. Perfectionists, therefore, received their full share of clerical anathemas. But "truth crushed to earth will rise again." Crushing and cursing only make it thrive the more.

We have said that Perfectionism came as an educator—a builder. An educator, in the broadest sense of the term, is one who wisely discriminates, giving to each function and faculty the attention and culture due to its relative importance and position in the integral man. Existing educational institutions are limited almost exclusively to the mind or intellectual faculties, while the heart, with its affectional functions and passions, is

scarcely recognized as susceptible of cultivation; but Perfectionists took the ground that the education of the heart is most important of all, and cannot be neglected with impunity.

To the individual, the heart is his solar system and subject to all sorts of moral and spiritual eclipses, even to total darkness of one's inner world. Hence the great need of true knowledge of spiritual astronomy, which heart-culture will impart. Christ says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." The heart, by cultivation, will become intelligent, wise, strong and discriminating, so as to detect all manner of impositions, corruptions and Pagan idolatries that assail and devour unregenerate hearts, shrouded as they are in ignorance and darkness.

Solomon says, "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." The true way to keep one's heart "with all diligence" is to keep it in school all the time. Education is its only safety. The function of the heart is to love, and when educated under the tutorage of the Spirit of Truth, Love of the truth will be unanimously chosen by all the passions as their true king. So, by putting one's heart in the keeping of such a king it will not be immured in a dungeon, doing good to none, but will have the liberty of the universe. Then one's love will be like the sun in the heavens, shining for all, and blessing all, in the spirit of him in whom we live, move and have our being. G. C.

THE PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT OF MAN.

[From "How to Grow Handsome."]

We have hitherto devoted our attention mainly to the improvement of the various species of animals and vegetables which have proved useful or agreeable to us, to the almost total neglect of our own nobler race. Experience, has taught us that the former are completely under our control—that we can so order their propagation and development as to modify their shapes, sizes, colors, and other qualities at will. If we have not yet placed them absolutely beyond the reach of improvement, they are at least so nearly perfect that the additional steps required seem not only possible but easy.

We have remodeled the horse, for instance, a hundred times to suit our convenience and pleasure, and to adapt him to the various uses for which he is required. For our heavy work at the plow and in the dray, we have added thickness to his bones and muscles, strength to his limbs, and stoutness to his whole frame; for the carriage and the saddle, we have imparted grace, symmetry, and a more delicately molded form; and for the sports of the turf we have given lightness, length of limb, and a hound-like slenderness. In the same way we have multiplied varieties of the dog, the sheep, the barn-yard fowl, and the pigeon, changing not merely the forms and colors, but also, to a considerable extent, the natural instincts of the animals on which we have exerted our transforming power.

The changes wrought in the products of the vegetable kingdom are, if possible, even more wonderful. The noble Newtown pippin and the princely Bellflower are descended from the small, hard, and acid crab-apple of Europe; from which single stock we have now many thousands of varieties—sweet and sour, early and late, and of almost every possible size, shape, color, and flavor. The delicious pear was originally an austere and innutritious fruit, cultivation having developed all those desirable qualities which now give it so high a place on our tables; and the juicy and nutritious peach is said to have been once merely a bitter and poisonous almond.

Every pomologist knows that, by the use of the means which science and the arts have placed within his reach, he can, as a general rule, just as easily and surely have good fruit of the various sorts cultivated as that of an inferior quality. By transplanting, grafting, adaptation of soil and manure, and the proper method of cultivation, he secures the desired results. Having wrested from Nature the secrets of her generative and life-directing forces, he assumes, for his own pleasure or profit, the entire control of her most complicated processes. Like Guy, the wise, for whom

The zephyr in the garden rolled
From plum-trees vegetable gold,

he seems, so wonderful are the results of his manipulations, to

Work on his Maker's own receipt,
And make each soil and element
Steward of stipend and of rent.

These facts would seem incredible were we less familiar with them; but as it is, we look upon them as matters of course, and no more astonishing than the daily rising and setting of the sun, or the regular succession of the seasons.

When, however, one speaks of the physical improve-

ment of the whole race in any other than the most general terms, he seems, to a majority of minds, to have left the sphere of practical realities, and to be indulging in fanciful speculations. Having tried our skill upon horses and dogs, and upon apples and peaches, we can speak with confidence of our power over them. It seems no great exploit to give a pear the desired flavor, to stripe a tulip to our liking, or to impart the hue we fancy to a rose; but to mold the manly or the womanly form into symmetry and grace, to tint the cheeks and lips with Nature's own colors, or to give to the hair or beard the silky softness and wavy undulations or spiral twinings which the highest beauty demands, is deemed too far beyond the reach of human science and skill to be seriously proposed.

The general principle that man, as an organized being, is subject to the same laws that govern all other organized beings, must, however, be admitted by all; and every one who has taken the trouble to inform himself upon the subject knows that upon the nature of the germ from which he has sprung, the quality and quantity of the nutriment received, and the character of the external influences and culture brought to bear upon him, depends the physical character of the human being as well as of the horse or the dog. These truths have been announced and reiterated, especially during the last quarter of a century, by the leaders of human progress in the departments of physiology and phrenology—by Combe, Caldwell, Cabanis, Broussais, Delaage, the Fowlers and others, but they have not yet become a part of the living faith of the world. Only here and there an individual constantly acts upon them, as upon other self-evident or demonstrated truths.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1879.

We call especial attention to the article in our present number, from the pen of Mr. CHARLES SEARS, on the North American Phalanx. It is a commentary on a passage in our article on "Paying Communities not always Successful," in the SOCIALIST of April 3d, and gives the reasons which, in the opinion of Mr. Sears led to the dissolution of that noted Phalanx. Our position, that paying Communities are not always successful, remains undisturbed. The published accounts of the life and death of the North American Phalanx seemed to confirm that position, and we therefore referred to that Society as an illustration of its truth, but not as the best illustration, and, moreover, were careful to preface our remarks concerning it with the words, "*if we may believe the testimony of the obituary notices that have been published.*" Mr. Sears assigns a different cause for its dissolution from that given by several who have sketched its career, but his view will doubtless be generally accepted. No man had better opportunities for forming a correct judgment.

MIND THE MAIN POINT.

The aim and end of all Socialism is to *eliminate Competism*. This has been the avowed object of all our discussions in the SOCIALIST. When we finally approach the investigation and discussion of the principles of Government we must not forget nor sink this vital subject.

There is no such exhibition of rabid, unscrupulous competism on the face of the earth as is going on before our eyes in this "glorious" country, as the result of the machinery of what is called "free government," that is, "government by the people and for the people," through free suffrage. And it is a fair question whether what we see is not the inherent tendency and destiny of the system which it represents—whether anything but *two-partyism* and consequent *competism*, growing worse and worse, is possible in government by mere popular suffrage.

The outlook from this upper story of human governments in which we live certainly is not pleasant, so far as the great problem of eliminating competism is concerned. When we think of heaven as a kingdom where all are one, the scenes around us seem the farthest possible from any approximation to that blessed state. Yet as Socialists, as well as Religionists, we must not cease to hope and search for a plan of government which will effectually exclude two-partyism. The prospect in the direction of magnifying and extolling free government, free suffrage, individual sovereignty, etc., being utterly discouraging, what if we should turn to magnifying and extolling *Inspiration*, as a possible force in human affairs, ready to

intervene and modify the working of the latest machinery of free government, which up to this time gives such hopeless results. With all the discoveries of Spiritualism in our minds, and the memories of the great Revivals in our hearts, is it too much to hope that the heavens may introduce improvements into politics which the statesmen of mere republicanism have not thought of? If all who believe in the God of Primitive Christianity should set themselves to pray for a National Pentecost, and should obtain that mighty rushing wind which made men suddenly and irresistibly melt into "one heart and one mind," is it too much to believe that a really new and improved form of government, preserving all that is good in republicanism and eliminating all that is bad, might germinate in that atmosphere of harmony, and grow to be the kingdom of heaven on earth?

In fact, a close student of political forms may find in the sixth chapter of Acts an incipient combination of government by spiritual mediumship with government by popular suffrage, which, with reference to the problem of eliminating competism, may be as well worthy of careful study as any of the American or French experiments in politics. And whatever may be said or thought of the possibility, for the present, of applying that combination to national governments, it may certainly be recommended to the earnest study of those Socialists who believe that Communities should be founded on inspiration.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

If Life and Inspiration are the basis of Socialism then it is evident that successful Communities can only be organized and grow where the *conditions* exist through which that life and inspiration manifest themselves. These, in the language of Spiritualism, may be called the *séance conditions* of Socialism.

Every student of Spiritualism knows that unless certain conditions are secured and observed, no satisfactory communication with the invisible world can be brought about—no phenomena will be vouchsafed from the other side. The thirty years' experience in Modern Spiritualism, by a host of investigators, has established nothing more solidly than the necessity of these *séance conditions*. These secured, and demonstrations of continued human existence in a world beyond death, and of the possibility of communication with the intelligences there, are sure to follow.

The same thing is true of Socialism. It demands right conditions. Secure these, and organic Communistic society is sure to manifest itself. And the experience of the past thirty or forty years of Socialistic investigation, as well as the historic facts of the previous 1800 years, have gone far to establish what the precedent conditions of successful Communism are.

If we study the history of the successful religious Communities, we shall find two significant facts: They had—

1. A unitary life-object or aim.
2. This life-object had reference to an invisible, spiritual world, and took hold on a life to come.

To these governing ideas all things were subordinate. The life here was preliminary and tributary to a life in the beyond. They adopted Communism as the order of life here, not as an end, but as the best preparatory means toward a heavenly life. They were under a spiritual persuasion that the spiritual life is a life of universal brotherhood, and they logically saw that the only safe preparation for the spiritual world was a life of brotherhood here. This is substantially stated in the Articles of Association of the Harmony Society. They say the "simple object sought is to approximate, so far as human imperfections may allow, to the fulfillment of the will of God, by the exercise of those affections and the practice of those virtues which are essential to the happiness of man *in time and throughout eternity.*" If we examine faithfully the histories of all the other religious Communities of America, we shall find these two principles more or less obvious as the underlying basis of their organization—a common life-purpose; a life here taking hold on a life beyond. They live not

for the present but for the future; making their present life the best possible, by conforming it to the highest conceptions given them of the life to come. In this we find a practical confession of the spiritual world as the dynamic world, the world to live for and obey. In this we think is the primary secret of their success. Is it not also the first condition of Communistic life and inspiration? We believe it is. Those who have succeeded in Communism have been those who "looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

"FIRST COUNT THE COST."

As conductors of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST we have felt called upon, from time to time, to offer words of caution to Socialistic experimenters, at the risk of having our motives maligned. It is not an agreeable duty; we should personally prefer to utter only words that will be heard by willing ears; but we are not at liberty to choose—we must express our convictions whether they accord with others or not.

Should a rich gold deposit be found upon some far-away ocean island, the discovery should be made known; but more than this would be demanded of the discoverers: it would be their duty to give a faithful description of the perils of the voyage and of the hardships to be experienced and obstacles to be overcome after reaching the island, and to discourage all expeditions that seemed to them to promise only disaster.

Rich placers of Communism have been discovered. A few small companies, like the Shakers, the Harmonists, and the Oneidians, are working them with fair success; and the fact has been heralded far and wide, and universal interest is excited. Multitudes are ready to start for what they regard as a veritable Eldorado. Their enthusiasm is unbounded. They will hear of neither difficulty nor danger. Many are eager to jump on board the first vessel that offers to take them to Utopia, without inquiring whether it is suitably constructed for such a voyage, is properly provisioned, has an effective, orderly crew, or a competent commander.

"Which of you," said Christ, "intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it." Many forms of Coöperation are comparatively easy, but to establish a Society of common interests, after the Pentecostal model is a much bigger job than building a tower; and to make its complicated machinery run smoothly after it is established is a still greater task. We are as anxious as any one to have Communities multiplied; but we are equally anxious to avoid disastrous failure; hence our oft-repeated exhortation to the enthusiasts "to first sit down and count the cost."

A CORRECTION.

EDITOR ONEIDA DISPATCH:—Prof. Mears in his address before the Utica Presbytery, April 15th, says:

"Since the present movement began there has actually been started another enterprise of similar character, in the N. E. corner of the State, on Valcour Island in Lake Champlain; this was in the summer of 1875. From want of funds the Dawn Valcour Community failed within a year. But the published sentiments of the Community on marriage, as contained in the *Plattsburg Republican*, put them in the category with the institution at our doors."

The last two statements are not *true to facts*. Being one of three that initiated the movement at Valcour, we know it is not the real truth that it "failed for want of funds." The "failure" was caused by a desire of *speculation* on the part of Mr. Shipman, who desired to sell a large tract of land for much more than its market value—\$40 per acre—when in reality land by its side went begging at half that price.

As to living "in the same category with the institution at our doors," this is also incorrect; it was largely infidel and spiritualistic—of a Horace Greeley and poor Richard proclivity. Like the Texan stock from the broad plains, they knew no fences, nor the advantages and benefits of the butter-and-cheese interest. To cage, coop or stanchion such stock, and make them stand peaceable and "gentle-eyed" for others to draw the milk of human kindness, no Cuvier pen or iron creed could endure. Programmes for all future time all had; and this was one of the things none squandered—we refer to "mental freedom;" in all their loss and general smash-up this

stood the test. The writer does not recall to mind a single person of the many who got spiritualistically intoxicated at this time in any "peck measure" sect of to-day.

The railroads received a paying benefit from the undertaking—none others. Respectfully yours,

O. C. HALL.

DeRuyter, Mad. Co., N. Y., May, 1879.

COMMUNITY ITEMS.

ONEIDA.

—The children leave chain-work to cut asparagus.

—We are experimenting with twenty-five young fig-trees.

—The canning season has just begun. Asparagus is the first product secured.

—A sudden dash of July heat. The mercury has stood at 80 deg. and upward nearly all the week. It rose as high as 96 deg. on the 13th.

—Notwithstanding the heavy apple crop last year there is a great profusion of apple-blossoms, and the horticulturists predict a tolerable crop for this season.

—X. says that

"Too much tork

Is the plague of New York."

Isn't that the universal plague of this age, anyhow?

—We have a pretty cottage at Branford, on Long Island Sound, built on a rock near a pleasant beach. The place has been for several years a resort for excursionists from O. C. and W. C. This season it will be occupied by persons whose health requires change of air, and thither two have lately gone.

—The paragraph in the "Contributors' Club," in the May *Atlantic*, which shows how busy-handed folks miss their chance to write a poem or do some other artistic thing, because some one else, who puts brain-work first, gets ahead with the same idea, reminds us of a curious fact which has often come under our observation while attending our Community meetings. We have noticed that when some subject is under discussion a fresh thought would occur to us, which, if we failed to utter, would soon be expressed by another in almost the identical words which came to us. We have heard others speak of having had similar experience. It seems as though the beings on the other side, who are teeming with ideas, went whispering here and there in search of a medium to give them voice. If the first refuses or neglects to speak, they pass on to another whose life is more receptive to inward signals.

—A friendly correspondent writes:

"I see that you are being constantly worried with applications for membership. You must not be so attractive; you must not live so comfortably; have such a nice home; set such a nice table; have such a nice farm; such fine fruit, horses, carriages, furniture, libraries, and all the other appurtenances of a real first-class home; you must not be so equable, refined, so unselfish, so attractive; you must not provide so well for the physical and educational and spiritual growth of the children, if you don't want to be bothered with saying no, so often. Just introduce general dilapidation and unthrift; have a few cases of embezzlement, and a few incendiary fires; go into bankruptcy and cheat your creditors; have a case of forgery every three months; try and get up a pistol homicide, with a woman in it, once a year at least; contrive to have a few breach-of-promise cases; some prosecutions for bastardy; and plenty of divorces. Spend five or ten per cent. of your net income in lawsuits with your neighbors. Let your officers keep false accounts, and grow rich in outside investments, while the Community grows poor. Let all who can, shirk labor, and make idleness more respectable than industry. Let overwork and under-pay become the rule among the masses. Let priests be set apart for teaching superstition as an aid and guaranty of subordination and submission. Let every man and woman be taught that it is wrong to think. When you have accomplished all these things, Oneida will be no more attractive than ordinary society, and your applications for admission will cease."

—Here is an item from the "old news." It is from a letter written by one of the founders of the O. C. from New York City, in 1848, about three months after the starting of the Community. It will show the stuff of which the pioneers in Bible Communism were made. The writer had been visiting among the believers scattered about the country, and this is what he says about Mrs. W., a woman who has long been a member of the Community, and has never wavered from her early faith:

"I will relate a circumstance that occurred last week. Among the most devoted friends we have in Newark is a Mrs. W., a brief sketch of whose history I will give. About ten years ago her husband ran away and enlisted in the U. S.

Navy, leaving her destitute and with three children to support by her own labor. Not long afterward she became a Perfectionist. Without looking for any charity from others she obtained work in binding shoes. Soon after this she lost her youngest child. By great industry she succeeded in supporting herself and her two surviving children. Her husband returned after awhile and wanted to live with her again, but as he gave no evidence of being a better man she refused to accept his proposals. He tried every way he could to persuade her, but could not change her purpose. She declared that Christ was her husband. At last the man got worried out, and she gave him liberty to obtain a bill, and he married again. She has been one of the most steadfast friends we have had in Newark. I called on her last week, and when I was about to leave she said she wished to make a present to our new Association at Oneida. Imagine my surprise when she handed me fifty dollars, which she had earned besides supporting herself and children and paying about forty dollars rent for her house. I at first objected to taking it; but she insisted upon it. Is not that a widow's offering worth the telling?"

—One of our members tells the following story:

"About forty years ago, while in Cincinnati, Ohio, I went to work for a Mr. H., who employed about one hundred hands at the steamboat engine business, and I found myself among a very profane and dissipated set of men, most of them Germans or other foreigners. My next neighbor at the work-bench, was a German, a swearing, drinking man. He was the last man employed previous to myself. According to the custom of those days, when a man began to work in a strange shop he was expected to treat all hands to drink, or 'pay his footing,' as it was called; and it was the place of the man who came last before him to dun him for it. Thus it was the part of this German to dun me to pay my 'footing.' The first day, perhaps on account of my respectable manners and appearance, he seemed rather shy of approaching me. On the second, he came to me, saying that it was time for me to get the hands something to drink. I knew what he meant, but having previously joined the Temperance society, I simply replied that I would go and fetch some water, which I did. He said no more to me that day. The next day he came again, saying that they wanted something good to drink. I then proposed to have some water with ice in it, and immediately started to get it, without giving him time to answer. For that day again his plan seemed disconcerted. But on the morrow he came to me in a very imperative manner, saying that they wanted some beer. I then told him that I did not approve of drinking beer, but that I would get him water, or ice, or anything else he might want that I thought it proper to get. At this he became angry and swore at me as a mean man. I bore it quietly. He was quite noisy in talking with the other men of the shop about me; and I could see by their looks and manner that they all thought meanly of me, and for some time after I was the butt of the shop. But I continued to act in a simple-hearted, open way toward them, treating them respectfully and kindly as I had opportunity; and by degrees their ill-nature subsided, and I noticed in my neighbor a feeling of uneasiness for having treated me as he had. If I wanted assistance in my work, or the use of a tool, which I often did, I was in the habit of asking him in a simple, respectful way for it; and he could not decline, for it was the duty of the workmen to assist each other in such things. One day, having borrowed a tool of him, I took it back, saying that I was much obliged to him for the use of it. He turned round with a full heart and manner, saying, 'You one very first-rate fellow,' which expression I perceived was a great relief to him. After this, he proved a very warm and generous friend to me; and it was not long before a similar change of feeling began to be manifest in the other men employed in the shop."

BELIEVING AND KNOWING.

We believe what others say. We know what we see for ourselves. We grow up with many beliefs that we have not proved by our own perception; and some persons when they find that out, about their religion particularly, are seized with a feeling of indignation, as though they had been imposed upon, and are thrown clear over into an attitude of opposition and enmity to their hereditary faith. They should certainly examine evidence, and make its truth or untruth a matter of personal perception; but the fact that they were educated in a certain belief, especially if they respect their teachers as good people, should not be a cause of prejudice against it, but, on the contrary, a reason why they should hold on to it till they know it is false. A young man says he is sick of a mere belief in the Bible, instilled into him by others; he wants to know things for himself. That is all right, but his state of feeling does not prove that the Bible is not true. It justifies him in investigation, but not in infidelity, till he knows to the contrary of what he has been taught. The fact of his being taught that the Bible is true is in favor of its truth rather than against it. Beliefs certainly may be facts, and are more likely to be than unbeliefs, because

they are presumed at least to originate in somebody's knowledge, which can hardly be said of unbeliefs. The following extracts from an old article by J. H. N., entitled "The Ultimate Ground of Faith," set forth the reasonable way of treating beliefs, and show us how to convert beliefs into knowledge, or disabuse the mind of them:

[H.]

"The process by which believers generally arrive at a solid practical assurance of the existence of God is this: First, they hear of him from their parents and teachers (and it has been God's care from the beginning of the world to provide this first means of instruction); thus their minds are preoccupied with a persuasion of his existence. Then they read the Book which contains the records of his past manifestations to mankind and gives them directions for approaching him. Finally, they follow those directions, and ascertain that there is a God by actual communion with him. In other words, they first believe the report of men and books, so far as to seek God; and when they have found him, they believe the evidence of their own spiritual senses.

"This method of coming to rest in the conclusion that there is a God, however it may be derided by skeptics, is by no means irrational. An illustration will set it in its true light. Suppose the case of a man born in a remote province of some great empire. He is a subject of a king whom he has never seen. In order that he may be a good subject, he must have a sure belief in the existence of his king. By what process may he most readily assure himself of the truth which he thus needs to know? He hears the testimony of common report; he sees the administration of government around him; he has a copy of the statutes of the empire; he has conversed with some who profess to have seen the king. With these grounds of belief he may surely, without exposing himself to any fair charge of credulity, inquire his way to the king's presence, and so convert the persuasion that comes by report into the certainty that comes by personal knowledge. Ever afterward, his answer to those who ask why he believes in the existence of the king will be—'Because I have seen him.' So, to the question, 'Why do you believe in the existence of a God?' the spiritual man answers—'I did believe at first because I heard reports of him and saw his works, but I now believe because my spirit perceives him.'

"By a similar process the believer's heart attains immovable confidence in the Bible as the word of God. At first he is persuaded to respect and read it by the testimony of men. Afterward perhaps his understanding is satisfied by historical evidences, by the miracles and fulfillments of prophecy which attest its divinity, and by his own perceptions of its intrinsic goodness and grandeur. But all these vouchers, external and internal, though sufficient to condemn infidelity, are but the harbingers of that 'full assurance of faith' which rests on the spiritual testimony of God. The man who assures himself of the existence of his king by seeking his presence will also at the same time verify, by personal inquiry, the authenticity of the statute-book which bears the king's name. To the question, 'Why do you believe the Bible?' the best of all answers is, 'Because God indorses it in his communications with my heart, and in all his discipline of me owns it as the auxiliary of his Spirit.'"

CROSSING JORDAN.

PRELUDE TO A COURSE OF CRITICISMS.

There can be no genuine, effective criticism without great sincerity. Those concerned in criticism should make up their minds to speak the truth in love, but to speak the truth and the whole truth, and not make pets of one another. Let us have more respect for the truth than for persons. Let the truth have a good time in our criticisms—let the spirit of sincerity flow through us, and make us faithful one with another.

Sincerity is the main thing in a good criticism—sincerity on one side, and the love of sincerity on both sides. Those who receive criticism should count it as a blessing—something that is to send them forward into a good experience. For my part, I am glad of anything that deepens my earnestness, and makes me feel more and more that the truth is my King. I say to myself, I will have no friendship, no love, no relatives, no father, no mother, no wife, no sweetheart come between me and the truth. The truth shall come between me and all of them. All friendship shall be controlled by the truth. All love shall be controlled by the truth. I will love truth more than any companions.

What the world's heart is longing for above all things is unchangeable love—which is exceedingly rare and precious, and can be obtained only by thorough submission to the truth. All love that is not nourished by the love of truth, no matter how romantic it is, or how warm and sentimental it is, or how indispensable it may seem to our happiness, is a terrible delusion; and the more beautiful it seems the greater the delusion. Friendship and love are very beautiful and very enticing, but don't try to get them without the truth. That is the only way to them. We say, "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life (i. e., heaven), and few there be that find it." We may say just as well, Strait is the gate and narrow the way which leadeth unto true friendship, and few there be

that find it. A true friendship is heaven. We shall find the love that is immortal on the other side of thorough criticism. It is over Jordan, and the Jordan between us and heaven is the Jordan of criticism, of truth, of judgment. Whether we live or die we must cross that Jordan, or we shall never get into heaven. We may sing the old song about "Canaan's happy shore," but Canaan's happy shore is not necessarily the other side of death. We need not die to get there. Heaven is on the other side of criticism. We shall get there by exposing ourselves to the truth, and accepting the truth about all things, and especially about ourselves. That and that alone can carry us into the unity of heaven, where "congregations ne'er break up and [friendships] never end."

REVIEW NOTES.

THE SCHOOL GARDEN. By Prof. Erasmus Schwab. Translated from the German by Mrs. Horace Mann. New York, 1879; M. L. Holbrook & Co.

The idea that children must be educated by labor as well as by study is a valuable one, and deserves the consideration of every one to whom the rearing of children is intrusted. Indeed, its importance can hardly be over-estimated; but a wholesome system which shall combine industrial with intellectual training is almost unknown in this country. The few attempts in this direction which have been made have not been successful to such an extent as to call general attention to the subject; and in this regard America is behind some of her European contemporaries.

The little volume of Prof. Schwab embodies the results of the labors of the author to introduce this system into the Austrian Empire, by means of attaching to each school-house a garden in which the scholars may spend a certain portion of their time in the raising of plants and flowers. So far as it goes, this method is excellent, and will unquestionably be of great utility in after life to those educated under it. The defect in it is that it provides for industrial education only in a single direction—that of horticulture. Probably out of a given number of average children, not more than one-third will develop a decided bias for the cultivation of the soil; while the remaining two-thirds, if they could follow their natural inclination, would adopt some mechanical employment. A system of industrial education, to be complete, should provide means for the encouragement of the healthy propensities of a child, in its own natural direction, without attempting to cross it too much. We have no doubt that Prof. Schwab appreciates this, and that as his method becomes more general, means will be found to extend the variety of occupation offered to the child, till every one who manifests a decided talent in a particular direction will find in school favorable conditions for its cultivation. This would be about our ideal of what education should be—a combination of mental with industrial training, of such a nature as to give to the subject an opportunity to develop special talent in a natural way; at the same time providing him with the means of applying it to practical and productive uses.

CORRESPONDENCE.

St. Louis, May 12, 1879.

EDITOR AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—That panacea of yours for curing the evils of this distracted country (see "Democratic Theocracy" in the SOCIALIST of May 8th) is a very pretty speculation indeed. I wish it were practicable, but there is not, I fear, sufficient goodness or intelligence in the people to make it possible for many generations to come. Carlyle, after saying that Puritanism made it possible for England to continue sometime longer, goes on to say that if destiny would agree to cure us of all our political evils in two centuries, it were well to strike the bargain with her. As to a nation annexing itself to the kingdom of heaven or even a single individual annexing himself thereto, according to what little I know of that matter, it involves a pure antinomy.

Of John the Baptist, it was said, none born of woman was greater than he, yet that the least in the kingdom of heaven was greater. Why? Because the least in the kingdom of heaven is born of God—as really a new birth as the first birth was real, and as much superior in power and glory to the first as immortality is superior to mortality. "It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory." That is the ineffable mystery concerning which Nicodemus exclaimed, "How can these things be!" The answer vouchsafed was, "We speak that which we know, and testify that which we have seen, and ye receive not our witness." Then follows the exquisite illustration of the blowing of the wind. Yes, the second

man is infinitely more real than the first man, and not a mere figure of speech. In the fourth century the world (death and hell) annexed the church (not the kingdom of heaven), which was possible because the church was utterly corrupt and apostate, more concerned about the definition of dogma and the glory of this world, than to testify of the life of the risen Lord.

The idea of "such men as the converts of Pentecost for the controlling power of the state," is so exquisitely beautiful, and yet so utterly unattainable, that I desire to record my belief that you are the first man to express the idea in print. In the ages to come, when the idea shall have become an accomplished fact (which may God speed), it will not be forgotten that J. H. Noyes was the man who first broached the idea in this age. The more I think of it the more immense does the distance seem which separates us from that illustrious day. For what else will it be but the kingdom of heaven on earth? Yet who knows? Time flies swiftly in these latter days. Our little life is so clogged and hampered with the traditions and superstitions of our heathen ancestors, that we can scarce lift our bleared eyes to look at that sun of righteousness which rose above the horizon of sin and death eighteen centuries ago. Alas, who of men now living shall be alive when God arises to accomplish this his strange work? With the average voter as he now is, it were as easy to lift yourself from the earth by the hair of your head without first counteracting the law of gravitation, as to elect your "pentecostal man" to Congress without first counteracting the ignorance and profanity of the average voter. Counteract the law of gravitation and you rise from the earth by specific levity. Abolish the ignorance of the voter and you may elect your pentecostal man to Congress; but how will you do it? But not to weary you with objections, I will close, as I began, by declaring that your speculation is beautiful, but to realize it each man must be converted to the love of truth as man's highest interest, individually and collectively, and then shall the kingdom of heaven come. Truly yours, J. E. GOODSON.

VOX POPULI VOX DEI.

Between Limited Monarchy, Aristocracy and Republicanism there is, practically, very little difference. In each the Government machine may be run by political stock-jobbers, in the selfish interest of the few, at the expense of the many.

"I will put my Laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a People."—Hebrews 8: 10.

Let the AMERICAN SOCIALIST call the attention of the people to this LAW—the Divinest ideal of the good, the true, the beautiful in government—that they may arise in their sovereign majesty and emancipate themselves from the conglomeration of political hocus-pocus legerdemain under which they are now groaning. For this emancipation the Spirit World now "maketh intercession with groanings that cannot be uttered."

Let society be curtailed of its costly, unproductive caudal appendages—middlemen, in presidential and other elections—law-makers, lawyers, and "know-yethe-Lord" teachers.

We have laws enough and to spare. Let the executive, honestly chosen, commend to the people such modifications as his official wisdom may suggest, and let the people decide the matter under wholesome home influences, where they are not a commercial commodity for the highest bidder.

How will this do? Will it simplify the all too complex machine? Is it on a mechanical idea?

Respectfully submitted, OLIVER PRENTISS.
Mount Lebanon, May 11, 1879.

SPIRITUAL AND COMMUNISTIC BASIS OF SOCIETY.

Wm. T. Harris, of St. Louis, is one of the foremost students of intellectual philosophy and educational science. In educational matters, and in connection with his position as Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, he has won a national reputation. From a recent lecture by Mr. Harris, before the St. Louis Social Science Association, on "The Method of Studying Social Science," we copy the following paragraphs:

The food, clothing, or shelter appropriated by one human being cannot be appropriated by another at the same time. If participation exists in regard to material supplies, it exists through division and diminution of shares. But it is the opposite of this in spiritual things, in things of the mind. Spiritual blessings always increase by being shared. In fact, they do not exist except in and through participation. It is through combination of man with man that the individual is able to achieve a rational existence. By combination, each one is able to participate in the life of every other—forming

a vast organism of institutions called human society, wherein each helps all and all help each.

Each particular individual hemmed in, hampered by circumstances, like a mere material thing, becomes a universal through the organization of institutions—the family, civil society, the State, the Church—that is to say: He takes hold of the helpful hand of the institution, and participates in the strength of the entire community. By institutions man preserves individual experience and aggregates it into wisdom. From this store of wisdom is fed the individual again, so that the particular man contributes to society his mite and receives back the total result of the experience of his entire race—a gift so great that it reminds us of the doctrine of Grace, one of the profoundest mysteries of the Christian religion, wherein is stated the spiritual fact that the gift whereby man is saved is a free gift of God, and altogether out of proportion to the merit or works of the repenting individual, who gives up his will and the products of his will to the service of the Lord. He gives up a particular product and receives back a universal. In this comprehensive sense society is a symbol of the work of Grace. The individual man is, at the beginning, a child or a savage—a mere animal. He is to be lifted up into spiritual combination with the race. Society that elevates him finds him at first totally depraved in this regard. He has no idea or impulse to receive culture at the hands of society. As an animal, he has impulses and appetites which he feels far more vividly than he does moral and rational principles.

But he must learn to subordinate these impulses and appetites to the rules or laws which society prescribe as the condition of social existence. Mere animal selfishness must give way to the dedication of one's self to others. The natural self must be abdicated in order that the personal self may be realized. And this personal self is the rational self—the self that lives through participation with mankind, receiving the largess of humanity in all its shapes. On its lowest plane—that of the material—the individual man gets back the right to enjoy the fruits of all climes, to partake of the food, clothing and shelter collected in every market by the concerted effort of all civilized and half-civilized energies. The agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and intercommunication organized as institutions, wherein each man combines with his fellow and produces an aggregate result so vast, are only one province of realized reason. It is true that in that province, partial as it is, and the lowest form of human combination, the individual receives back a blessing of incalculable extent. He gives only the products of his own labor. He raises a small crop, or cobbles a few shoes, or distributes as a merchant a few commodities, or carries to and from market a few loads of productions; or, as a laborer in the field of the diffusion of intelligence (intercommunication), he edits, prints, or sells a newspaper or book; at best his labor is a small affair compared with the aggregate labor of mankind, and his contribution thereto is a widow's mite, and yet for this he receives in return the necessities of life; his natural wants are supplied from the inexhaustible reservoir of human industry, a thence-flowing rivulet, bringing him his daily bread, his clothing, his shelter. What is the difference between his taking food, clothing, and shelter thus at the hand of society, and his taking it as a savage directly from nature? Here is the vast difference that separates man as an animal from man as a spirit. As a mere individual, an utter savage, he recognizes in his deed no other human being; he manifests only the properties of matter—exclusiveness and appropriation. Material things *exclude*, and do not *participate*; if one thing combines with another, it does this by the destruction of the individuality of the other, and commonly of both things. There is no preservation of individuality in nature except through exclusiveness, and this is destruction of other individuality, and finally of its own. Spirit, on the other hand, is *inclusiveness*—the *preservation* of individuality by the elevation of it into *personality*; each voluntarily yields its individuality to the whole—to society—and gets back personality as its dower. Each is for all, and all is for each. Material things are negative. Spiritual things are positive. The individual as a natural being is exclusive—*selfish*—negative to human combination; as regenerated into a person, he is self-sacrificing, accepts the supply to his wants as a gift from the social whole. The man who, in society, isolates himself, and produces nothing to contribute to the general store, is not allowed to draw anything thence—he cannot pay for it. If he pays for his stipend he symbolizes his devotion to society and his sacrifice of his labor for the whole, and having performed this symbolic ceremony he can receive from the general store. If he is a beggar or an object of charity, in the very act of receiving alms, he sacrifices all of his natural individuality and confesses his utter dependence on the social whole. It must not be overlooked that when an individual buys something, what he pays for it is only a symbol, and not a real *quid pro quo*—that is to say, unless he pays in money, which itself is the commodity that has received the stamp of universality, and is not the direct product of the labor of a special individual. The countryman brings to market a basket of corn, and receives therefor a paper of coffee or tea. Perhaps his individual labor alone has planted and harvested and marketed the corn. But the coffee or tea has required the agency of an army of men, passing through the hands of the agriculturalists, the small and large traders, the transportation companies, and the government officials, in its process of development and transit from its distant home in Brazil, or Arabia, or China, to the market in Missouri. The alchemy which makes possible the exchange of an individual product that has not received the care of many individuals, with the product that has received the care, not only of many individuals, but of national governments: what renders all possible is spiritual com-

bination, not a natural but a spiritual principle; not material exclusiveness, but human participation through self-sacrifice.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

Ceteweyo's brother has surrendered to the British in South Africa.

Yakoob Khan't come to an arrangement with the British just now.

Our political items won't be so hot when the rain and strawberries come.

The Pennsylvania Central Road has separated from the pool of trunk-line railways.

It is rumored that the Democrats will issue an Address and "give the President a talking to."

The Legislature of New York has passed a bill reducing the legal rate of interest from 7 to 6 per cent. per annum.

West Virginia takes care of her convicts for 25 cents a head per day. Her insane cost her \$2.33 a head per week.

Harper's Monthly comes to us in larger type and with page slightly widened. It now looks nearly as well as *Scribner*.

The great powers in Europe are under the necessity of trying to make a little money this year—England and Germany especially.

The dandy swallow has come back to our barn in the same old suit of bran-new clothes—shiny steel-blue coat, pale-chestnut vest and small clothes.

The International Convention of engineers now in session in Paris will have the route for a Darien canal picked out by the 24th inst.

Notwithstanding our dreadful talk about "revolution" we go in shoals to invest our money in Government 4-per cents. if we have any.

A Valparaiso dispatch of April 19th says that 15,000 Bolivians were marching to attack the Chilians. The Bolivians had already taken Atacama.

Nevertheless, it is reported by a Kansas man, that not less than 5,000 persons have already stolen into the Indian Territory with the wicked intention of sticking there.

The Democrats think they have now got the President just where they want to have him. He has stepped on that sacred thing called State rights. Send that fact abroad and rouse your fiery clans.

The Japanese want to give General Grant a right royal reception. If he accepts, the fine building used as the residence of the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince Alexis will be set apart for the use of the General and his party.

When the President could send his soldiers into Massachusetts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, then we Republicans thought that our State rights were precious and that the United States Government was hideous.

When the Democrats went after Anthony Burns, the fugitive slave, with a United States Marshal, and troops in reserve, they had no idea of putting off the day of arrest—for election day or the day of pancakes. "Y-i-i-i-i-i-i!"

Oiled rags probably set fire to more buildings than the whole army of lack-luster vagabonds. It has been demonstrated that with 19 grains of "wadding" and 67 grains of a strong oil varnish, spontaneous combustion takes place in 34 minutes.

We made 2,577,361 tons of pig iron last year. This is more than has been made any year since 1874. Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan and Missouri fell off in this production in 1878, while North Carolina, Texas and Indiana stopped entirely.

We ought to have Grant "because he would oppose the Solid South and rule vigorously." Take that idea and put it through all the paraphrases of which it is capable, and you will have nearly all of the multitudinous reasons for making Grant President in 1881.

If we should reduce the tax on tobacco and whiskey, and make it up by putting a tax on incomes, as some of our Congressmen propose, then our confederate brethren would find it an unmixed joy to govern us. They take all the offices, and we pay all the taxes.

Tom Paine got himself into notice by his rather vigorous writing of common-place matter, and for his pains he had more than a hundred books written against him. Now his admirers propose to erect a colossal statue of him in St. Louis and call him Thomas Paine.

The best Parisians are now making much account of the power to read with grace, meaning and intelligence. Many capable professional readers are employed in families. Indeed, reading threatens to replace the classic piano in the programme of the feminine education of the future.

The true Gregorian chant is soon to be restored to use in the Catholic Church, by the publication of official editions of plain chant music prepared under the supervision of the Sacred College of Rites. Is this the way the infallible church progresses? Its nose toward the past and its back toward the future.

The President has delivered another left-hander at the Army bill. It was shorter and stronger than the other. Since then, the Democrats have been looking around for a soft place on which to lay their champion down. They think they have given the President a chunk of State rights that will mash his fist completely.

The Board of Education for New York City are considering what to do about their Superintendent Kiddle, who has written a book of "Spiritual Communications" from all the big heads and dead-heads in the other world. Some of the Board think that his book is an evidence that Mr. Kiddle has been getting away from sound, logical methods of thought, and that he is, therefore, unfit to act in so important a department as that of education.

Our "illegitimate" brethren of the South will sometime find out that the United States were invented to govern them—not merely to furnish them with paying offices. At present they are trying to "buck" their little State Courts against the United States Courts. In South Carolina a revenue officer was indicted in a State court for "robbery," his offense having been the seizure of some tobacco on which the internal revenue had not been paid.

The Pope has created a lot of new Cardinals. The most conspicuous among them is Dr. John Henry Newman, Englishman, an old gentleman of seventy-eight, and pretty tired by this time. He is the author of that famous tract called "No 90," and has done a great deal to make Catholicism attractive to the English heart. "Not the least powerful of the instruments by which he has charmed two generations of his countrymen," says the *Nation*, "is his English style, which in simplicity, purity and grace may fairly be called faultless."

You talk about having Grant for our next President. Please notice that "his régime kept handing Republican States over to the Democrats, or whittling down Republican majorities with the most deadly efficiency." In 1878, under the calm Republicanism of Hayes, the Democratic force in the House of Representatives from the Northern States fell off from 97 to 50, and the Republican rose from 90 to 125—a Democratic loss of nearly 50 per cent. and a Republican gain of nearly 40 per cent.

This is the second time the President has sent their composition back to the Democrats to be written over. He isn't much of a literary man, but he is a very thorough schoolmaster and a little particular about the sentiments a young man puts into "his piece." Keep at it boys, and you will get it right by and by. S'pose you ask the President to give you a "skeleton" that he would subscribe to. It wouldn't take you long to put in the "padding," and then the thing would be done, and you could go home.

What France needs is a District of Columbia of her own. Then her Assembly could have a meeting place where it would be supreme. As things are now, some of the French Legislators feel sensitive about going back to hold their deliberations in Paris and in a building that could be easily surrounded by a mob of a million men. For this reason some of the Legislators are trying to take the control of the municipal police out of the hands of the Common Council. The proposition makes some excitement in France.

No wonder the noble white man wants to steal the Indian Territory. This is the way one of them, sent out by a Kansas City newspaper, discourses on the coveted land: "Here, indeed, is a paradise. The very gardens of the gods could not equal this heaven-kissed country in its fragrance, beauty, and the perfume of its flora, that fills the air with an aroma more delicious than was ever wafted upon the gentle breeze that fans the isles of the blessed. . . . This, indeed, will make the grandest harem for hogs ever known. Missouri will be left entirely in the shade as an inviting spot for swine."

The French are excited over a measure now pending before the Assembly for the resumption by the State of the sole power of granting university degrees, with which it parted three or four years ago under the old régime. This is really a stroke at "clericalism" and the power of the clergy, and will, if well delivered, take from them the exceptional position they now occupy as teachers, and subject them to the common law, as regards Government certificates and inspection, and deprive them altogether of the power of granting university degrees. Despite her Republicans and irreligion there is in France an immense amount of "clericalism," or the feeling that the Church is superior to the State and ought to enjoy in the management of its affairs exemption from secular control.

There are politicians who still think that silver is one of the very precious metals, and under the lead of Mr. Warner, who has introduced a bill for the unlimited coinage of silver dollars weighing 412½ grains, they are, says Prof. Elliott of the Mint, "substantially trying to make the Government pay the holder of silver bullion here and elsewhere \$19 worth of silver certificates of deposit, receivable for all dues of the United States, including duties on imports, for \$16.00 worth of silver bullion; \$19.00 worth of legal-tender silver coin for \$16.00 worth of silver bullion; \$19.00 worth of interest-bearing bonds for \$16.00 worth of silver bullion." The intensity of this silver craze may be seen when you consider

that "one ounce of gold is now worth sixteen ounces of silver coin and nineteen ounces of silver bullion," and that the profits of coinage—eighteen per cent.—are all to go to the holders of bullion.

The question seems to be whether Northern enterprise, Northern thrift, and Northern scholarship can produce a breed of men large enough to govern this country. It is: Shall we, as of old, go to the unthrifty, unpainted, barbaric South to get our Presidents, our Supreme Court Judges, our Generals and Commodores, and our men for the Civil Service? In Ohio, where the two elements have mingled and struggled, the South has given that State two governors to the North one. Her educational system and her system of internal improvements were both set agoing under Southern governors. That is what Mr. Hayes himself has seen and said. The North is, in the truest sense, the country, and it must, hereafter, govern itself.

Judge Dundy, of the Nebraska circuit, has made a decision in the case of the Ponca Indians, that will, if sustained, do much to reverse our whole treatment of the red men. These people were living in Christian ways and doing well where they were, but the Government saw fit to order them off to some malarious reservation, where one-third of their number died. When they fled for their lives back to their old homes General Crook treated them as escaped convicts. Mr. Tibbles, editor of an Omaha paper, got an idea that these things were not in accordance with our Fourth of July orations and professions of liberty, and so had the matter put to test in the courts. Tibbles beats. Judge Dundy has announced that a body of men born heirs to the soil, intelligent, moral, hard-working Christians, "have the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as long as they obey the laws and do not trespass on forbidden ground."

According to a statement lately prepared by the Treasury Department, the Internal Revenue Tax from the eleven seceding States, from June 30, 1866, to June 30, 1878, was \$201,906,096.15; from Ohio for the same time, \$215,010,620.54; from Illinois, \$211,187,312.35; and from New York, \$384,406,776.25. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, the seceding States paid \$11,142,042.45; Ohio, \$14,762,979.94; Illinois, \$19,651,732.21; and New York, \$14,963,899.92. And yet the South went into secession just because the North, which has always had, as now, the most stock in the concern, proposed in 1861 to take charge of its own affairs awhile. At that time Mr. Alexander H. Stephens said to his seceding friends, "What have we to gain by this proposed change of our relations to the General Government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been."

The men in Washington who are accused of aiding this raid of the whites upon the Indian Territory plead meekly that they are not trying to dispossess the civilized tribes of their lands—they are only trying to secure a "division of the Indian lands in severalty." To this the *Tribune* replies: "Precisely: that is exactly the way the thing is to be done. The railroad grants of land become operative as soon as the present Indian title is extinguished. That title consists in a patent issued by the United States to the tribes as such, and would be extinguished when the tribal organization is broken up, as it would be 'by the division of the lands in severalty.'" By all means keep an eye on those bigoted partisans of lands in severalty. In these times of universal discontent with our present modes of distributing wealth it is particularly refreshing to contemplate that primeval Communism which prevails in the Indian Territory, so far as the land is concerned. Let the Indians alone, and give them a thousand years in which to embellish their Communism with school-houses, colleges, churches, factories, telegraphs, and all the modern conveniences of old tin-cans underfoot, and cast-off-paper-collars blowing around.

The President vetoed the last Army Bill, or "Act to prohibit military interference at elections," on the grounds, (1) that it would greatly impair the efficacy of the chief Executive; (2) that it reversed all the precedents of the Government; and (3) that its repealing clauses were vague and of doubtful application. The pith of the President's objections is found in these effective sentences: "The presence or employment of the Army or Navy of the United States is lawful under the terms of this bill at the place where an election is being held in a State to uphold the authority of a State Government then and there in need of such military intervention, but unlawful to uphold the authority of the Government of the United States then and there in need of such military intervention. Under this bill the presence and employment of the Army or Navy of the United States would be lawful, and might be necessary to maintain the conduct of a State election against the domestic violence that would overthrow it, but would be unlawful to maintain the conduct of a National election against the domestic violence that would overthrow it." * * * Under the sweeping terms of the bill the National Government is effectually shut out from the exercise of the right and from the discharge of the imperative duty to use its whole executive power whenever and wherever required for the enforcement of its laws at the places and times where and when its elections are held. The employ-

ment of its organized armed force for any such purpose would be an offense against the law, unless called for by and therefore upon permission of the authorities of the State in which the occasion arises. What is this but the substitution of the discretion of the State Governments for the discretion of the Government of the United States as to the performance of its own duties? In my judgment this is an abandonment of its obligations by the National Government, a subordination of National authority, and an intrusion of State supervision over National duties, which amounts in spirit and tendency to State supremacy."

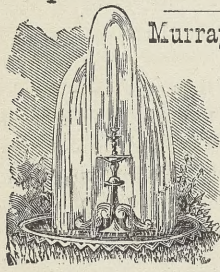
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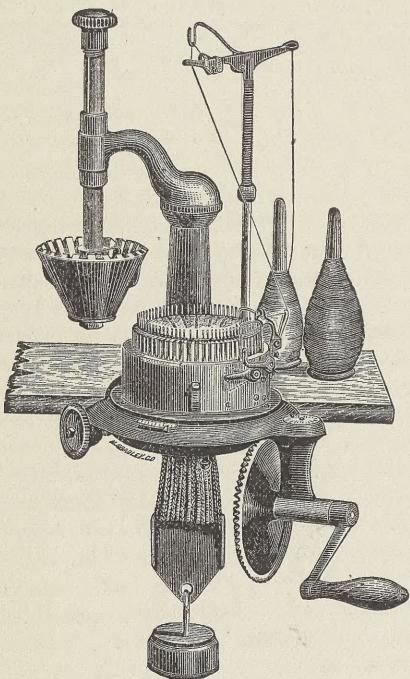


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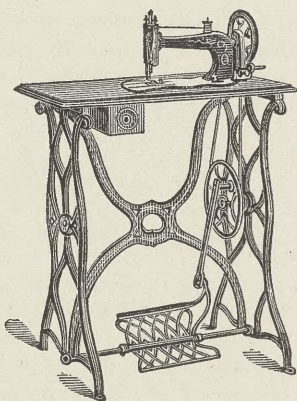
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